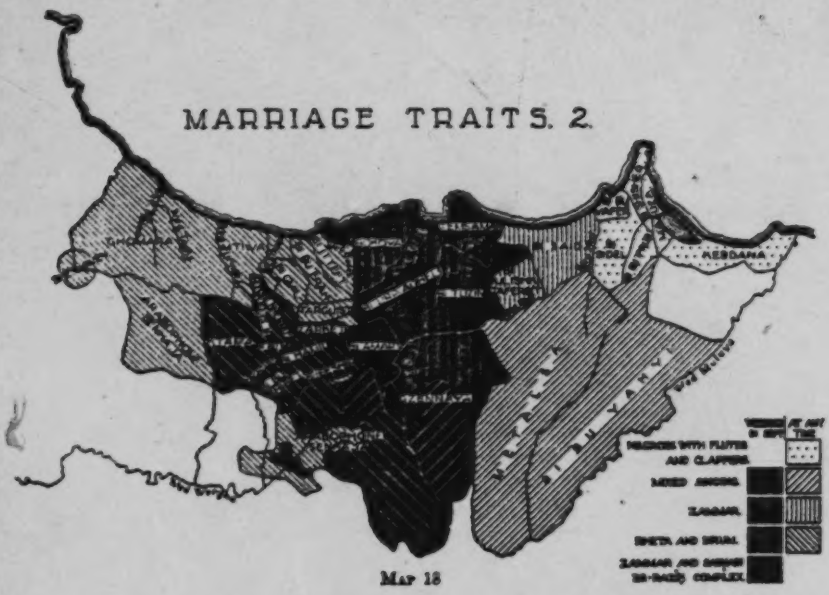
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The *tuziren* whose turn it is, chant at the top of their lungs, since the other company usually amuses itself by firing off volleys of musketry. After both have chanted it a number of times, they unite in gunplay, and enter the house to greet the groom. The chanting of the *sabḥain er-rasḥ* as the verse is called, is considered a very necessary formality in the region in which it is observed. It is thought that to omit this part of the wedding would be more serious than any other miscarriage of custom. Those who do not practice it look upon it with great ridicule, and call it a survival of heathendom; consequently those who do



Map 18

practice it take pains to lead strangers away while it is being done, and never mention it nor admit participation in it while travelling. It is another of the strange hypocrisies and inconsistencies of Riffian culture, resulting from their retention of ancient cultural traits. Chanting it is the custom among the mountain Beni Urriaghlia, in Beni Amart, Iberrushen, and Ikhuanen, and among some families of Iberrassen.

The chief attractions at the houses of the bride and groom, during all the seven or three nights in the regions where food is given nightly, are the dancing and singing of the girls, the gunplay and shouting of the men, the instrumental music, and the coarse humor of the musicians.

There are two types of dancing, the usual one and the type confined to the central area. In the usual type, all the young women of the *bone* who are presentable form two opposing and equal lines in the courtyard, each line with a leader. The women include not only

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585 535 unmarried ones but also the younger married women whose husbands will allow them to participate. The dancing is slow as far as actual progression and movement of the feet is concerned, since the two parallel lines, each girl with her hands on the shoulders of the one in front of her, move up and down the courtyard, and sometimes swing at angles to each other. A more rapid motion, however, takes place in the abdomen, hips, and shoulders, the dancers writhing in unison in a rapid muscle dance, stamping their feet in time with the music and moving them slowly back and forth.

585 533 While dancing the women sing rhymed couplets, usually in pentameter, to some monotonous and yet not unmusical refrain. The music is more appealing to an American ear than that of the Arabs, but less so than that of the Shluh. The couplets include amorous rhapsodies, extemporaneous personal allusions to boys in the audience whose attention one of the dancers, especially the leader of a line, may wish to attract, and endless narrative dirges and exultations dealing with the war with the Christians. These war poems are beautiful compositions, and have now been sung so often that they have acquired a certain stability of form. They are sung in the dialect of the Galiya; often during the singing men who have participated in the battles referred to burst out weeping.

In some of the songs a dialogue is carried out between the two lines, one representing the Riffians and the other the Spaniards. As an example, one line says (in rough paraphrasing) "O soldiers, why did you come here? Why did you pitch your white tents beneath the crags of sweet-smelling wood?" To this the other, representing the Spaniards, replies, "To see the girls of Temsaman walking by, girded with belts of many colors, and their skirts swishing."

The leaders of the lines sometimes carry shallow open-based drums, the heads of which they pause to tighten by a fire burning in an angle of the court.

585 535 In a restricted part of the central area a different and more active type of dancing is found: all but two of the girls, none of whom are married, dance around in a circle, facing inward and singing. The style of their dancing is the same as that of the usual type. The two leaders, however, dance apart from the others. They wear short skirts, and hold in their hands, instead of drums, wooden clickers or castanets.[1]

These two dance side by side, moving their hips in opposite directions, and from time to time kicking their legs high in the air, clicking their castanets beneath their raised thighs and striking them on their buttocks. When the spirit of the dance has sufficiently aroused them they pick up and swing each other and leap to each other's shoulders and stand for a moment upon them. The atmosphere of this dance, heightened by the presence of the castanets, is quite Andalusian, but more acrobatic. It is to be seen among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Beni Amart, Iherrusben, and Ikhuanen. Since the war the Taghsuthis have taken over this type of dancing, or rather the circle part of it, since the skill required for the parts of the two leaders is beyond them.

585 533 534 There are several kinds of music played at Riffian weddings. The first is that of the *zummar*, a double-reed pipe with vibrator and opposing stops.[2] The ends of the pipes are adorned with aoudad horns. The music produced on this instrument sounds very much like

[1] Bates (pp. 135–136) says that castanets were used by the ancient Libyans. One representation which he exhibits shows two curved pieces, presumably of wood, held in one hand; another shows two sticks, one held in each hand, and struck together. The Riffian women hold a pair in each hand.

[2] Bates (loc. cit.) states on the authority of Durius Siculus that the ancient Libyans played on double-reed pipes.

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

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organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

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We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

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000 26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event, [178] [656] as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish administration, people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the last 30 years or more.

[562] 27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

[535] 28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two [114] tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala, the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first. As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator, it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

[685] 32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch belonging to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanun in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

[648] The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan administration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

[113] Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.